/145 cont./

567 538 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 567 648 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interesting aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

[114]

1. Julián, Antonio: La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

/146 cont./

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discourses/. Madrid, by don Antonio de Sancha, 1787. 1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even slaves, in addition to cloth brought from Europe...." (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, Negro slaves, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the racial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: "...He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--181 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro 9C13

/147 cont./

175 567 641 ever more and more and more difficult to conquer. In fact, when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 150.

BOND SERVICE

56 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantil/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

[4 cont.]
834 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

834 SC1 835 The conditions of their geographical situation and the occupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherío ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

837 841 Only in those localities where the influences of civilization [generally, sometimes] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comandía; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

* * *

● 175 648 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered. Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Riohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

875 877 These contacts with European civilization were slowly changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

[5 cont.]

into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been noted by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yuca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drink.

With the establishment of stock raising centers by the Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series of shifts from the hacienda which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His mode of a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and mules, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their tactics, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador, as in addition to this decisive element, they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[6 cont.]

105 177 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institutions. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelism, government and military officials, and traders.

194 195 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly, although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the contraband between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was of insignificant proportions, but [?] at the present time it is developing more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

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132 194 In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extremely severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

[39 cont.]

But the Conquest came. The Guajiro Indian kept his independence by means of wars and raids and maintained his personality intact as far as possible. His internal organization endured and continued manifesting itself without changes for a time; family organization, bond service, slavery, intercian wars, the laws of inheritance and compensation payment, all the social structure, including marriage, continued in the traditional forms. However, the theft of livestock from the neighboring Spanish ranches began, and the Guajiro Indians learned to master the art of stock grazing until they became converted into a group of herders with occasional agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

The situation was thus undergoing a change apparently gentle in the form it took, but violent in the results it produced on marriage, inheritance, the status of the clan as a collectivity and of the individual in particular, which we attribute to the cause just noted and also to the acculturation provoked by the ever increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula: missionaries, military men, employees, traders, and adventurers, who have managed to introduce, as we have said in the introduction, a number of customs from their places of origin, still small [in number] but which slowly are beginning to undermine the social organization of the natives.

All this has clashed with the strongest institution of primitive La Guajira, the shaman, who has had to withstand the challenge of the missionaries, who inculcate in the Indians' minds Catholic beliefs or Christian beliefs in general, absolutely opposed to the primary animism and the magic laws which determined, and still determine, in part the acts, lives, and deaths in general of all and each one of the members of the Guajiro community.

The new concept of wealth based on stock grazing, the presence of civilizado elements, the network of communications that now crosses the peninsula, the decisive action of the missionaries and schools have all combined to reduce the shaman to his minimum proportions. Of course, there still remain elements in the native which allow one to classify him as framed by a magic mentality, but external influences are carrying him

[99 cont.]

the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called rancha in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation, as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally encountered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (99)

99. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America]. Bnd, XIV, 186.

Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

751 [102]
825 head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who
807 are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is
751 that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are
825 found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by
751 quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó
825 [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in thise mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance -- one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

777 Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Goajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business. It counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

[105 cont.]

The owners of this idol -- that no one is allowed to look at -- keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (82)

82. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 848.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society.

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilization of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchería, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Soldado, de Barrancas, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca.

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1789, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of stones (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now,

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 705.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
644 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[181] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[365] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Calcaño in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[588] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

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121 114 3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/." Anthropos, 47, 1952. pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the 115 Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

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Only a few accounts concerning the social order and political organization of the Guajiro are available from that period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

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5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes /clans/ by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya /macaw/ (this is the

/533 cont./
highest), Casta de Pagoii, Casta de Gocharaca, Casta de Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Calliman (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these seven groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes all paths unsafe"(6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guajiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 633). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons, traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1886): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

/534 cont./

own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Guajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land" /cited in English/. In an "Appendix" (p. 796) at the end of his report, Simons gives a "List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places" /cited in English/; each of the twenty-two names is found in its proper region on the map provided by him (?).

?. Frazer (Vol. 3, p. 560) reproduced this table in full and clearly expressed his conviction that "the Guajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern" /cited in English/. In connection with this, he discussed in detail the mother-right customs of this tribe. — Kirchhoff (p. 154) analysed only the relationship between paternal and maternal relatives, so far as it was then possible when "the description of the kinship organization" was" /illegible/ most incomplete and unsatisfactory." He also clearly made the distinction between the extended family /Grossfamilie/ and sib and

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distinctly stressed that the sib "need not necessarily be a local unit... The bond that holds together the members of a sib is the idea that they descend from the same ancestor and are therefore brothers and sisters..." (p. 90). Actually, the clan members /Klanmitgliedern/ of any sib are allowed to move in complete freedom over all of Guajira. — Vegamian (pp. 36, 347), too, explained: "The Guajiro Indians are divided into castes /castas/ of totemic denomination" /translated from the Spanish/. He discussed in detail their local placement and explained the somewhat variable spelling of the clan names among the authors as follows: "Among the same Indians, perfectly expert in their tongue, there is no uniformity in the pronunciation of one and the same word" /translated from the Spanish/.

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A. Ernst in his second report (1887) used the reliable details furnished by Simons and declared concerning them: "One gains from his presentation a clear picture of the peculiar social relations in which the inhabitants of the peninsula live. What the Spanish writers in their meager reports designated with the vague name 'parcialidades /factions, parties/,' Simons recognized quite rightly as family /Familie/ in the ethnological sense (clan, gens) and gave for several of them the habitual place of residence and the totem

/534 cont./

114 concerned..." (p. 426). "Most are no longer explicable
175 from the present language of the Guajiro..." According to
614 Simons, "there is no doubt that the Guajiro believe in their descent from such an animal... How far the use of the totem extends among the Guajiro is not said either by Simons or by any other reporter" (pp. 440f.). For such an animal, Ernst (1887, p. 442) regarded the valuation "totem" as proper and promised a linguistic analysis of the names for the twenty-two totem-animals noted by Simons.

614 Individual clans /Klane/ exceed others in economic influence and social significance. The ones smaller in number of persons attach themselves to one or several others. The belief in the kindred solidarity of the clan members is grounded in the traditionally transmitted conviction /535/ /map appears here/ /536/ of actual descent from the same totem-animal. Ernst further states: "Since the individual families [= clan groups] live, if not exactly in hostility, nevertheless separated from one another, marriages between members of different families [take] place only in rare cases" (p. 442); which is synonomous with clan-endogamy as the prevailing rule.

114 A series of names given by other reporters are found in
614 part in A. Jahn (p. 142), Armstrong-Métraux (p. 383), and R. Crist (1959, p. 485). Occasionally one has the impression that these authors drew on Simons and Ernst as their sole sources. The statements that the journalist J. Weston makes are false.

2. Most Recent Reports

What Virginia Gutiérrez has put down in her article, "Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) comes from personal field research. Her article became known to me only after my crossing of the peninsula. The myth recorded by her, in which sibs still living in Guajira are mentioned by name, follows here in free translation. The same account was repeated to me, with a few insignificant variations, by

Text continues on p. 10